RRR
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For President: Pat Buchanan

by Murray N. Rothbard and Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

In writing an article on strategy for this issue, one of us, demonstrating the crying need for a dynamic, exciting, charismatic leader to build a paleo movement, a right-wing populist movement to rouse the middle and working classes, to return American to a free and prosperous land of productive citizens enjoying their rights to person and property, ends with the cry: where is that leader? Where is that presidential candidate? As if our prayers were swiftly answered by Heaven, we now have that candidate and that leader: Patrick J. Buchanan.

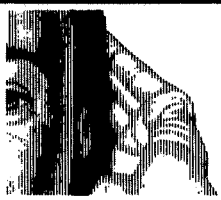
One might well ask: what about Ron Paul? In November, we called for Ron Paul to enter the Republican primaries, and we joined an exploratory committee to test the waters for that race. We generated an enormous and unexpected amount of interest, from libertarians and conservatives, and from the media, starved for some kind of contest in what had looked like a torpid and boring Bush coronation in 1992. Ron was determined that Bush would not go unchallenged, but he was not anxious for personal reasons to make the race. When Pat phoned him, without hesitation, Ron welcomed Pat's entry into the race, and pledged his support to the Buchanan effort. Unlike most libertarians, Ron Paul understands the real world of politics, and he realizes that in Pat Buchanan we have an unprecedented opportunity to forge a powerful paleo coalition, to create a new libertarian-conservative, Old Right movement that can grow, can became extraordinarily influential, and that can even take over the presidency within a short period of time.

We now have that candidate and that leader: Patrick J. Buchanan.

To libertarians: the opportunity is here. This is it. This is the real world. Get real!

Pat Buchanan is our ideal candidate. He is highly intelligent; he is deeply principled; he is known and loved by millions of Americans; he has a great deal of experience in politics, though not in running

(Cont. page 4, col. 3)



THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

At a recent meeting that Charles Koch's Institute for Humane Studies held for budding young journalists, the big buzz among the students was not the daffy but boring official topic, but....RRR! Student opinion was split 50-50; with half saying they couldn't live without us, and the other half calling us Evil Incarnate. That's about the right proportion: they may love us, they may hate us, but no one can ignore us!

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In case anyone wants to know whom Israel is backing in the Democrat presidential sweepstakes, general counsel for the Clinton campaign

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(THE EAR cont. from P.1)
is none other than David Ifshin, of the Washington law firm of Ross & Hardies, who is advisor for the immensely powerful AIPAC (the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee.)

* * * * *

The Washington State LP, whose Boss Karen Allard is high up in the Gingell machine in the national LP, is mourning the loss of two Washington initiatives in the November election: term limitation, and the pro-euthanasia initiative, which fortunately lost by about 54 to 46 percent. It occurs to me: if the line-up for the future is going to be "right-to-live" on the Right versus "right-to-die" on the Left and for Left (or Modal) Libertarians, if that's how the issues are going to be framed, it's going to be no-contest. Even in our sick culture, how many people are going to be whooping it up for Death?

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The latest: after packing up with her brood and moving in with her childhood sweetheart in Coconut Grove, Florida, and staying for only two months, LP National Chairman Mary (Ding-a-ling) Gingell is hot-footing it back to San Francisco and the arms of her second hubby. What happened? The Ear will try hard to find out. Could it be that Childhood Sweetheart, after one whiff of the Mature Mary as Mother, sent her packing?

* * * * *

Modal disease spreads: The Flemish wing of Belgium elected three members to Parliament of the new Libertarian Party. The party has two major plans: abolition of the monarchy and abolition of marriage. We expect to see celebrations of this triumph in the *LP News* in the United States, and by the Libertarian International. Before they celebrate *too* much, however, they should be aware that the founder and leader of the Libertarians of Belgium, the mystic and former stock-market guru Jean-Pierre Van Rossem, is being held in Antwerp jail on charges of fraud. It all figures.

* * * * *

Apology, apology! The big PC thing now is the Group Apology. Consider: in recent weeks, Senator Bob Kerrey, caught telling an unfunny private joke about lesbians on C-Span, has been frantically apologizing to everyone in sight: women, gays, lesbians. Senator Simpson, back in Wyoming, has been apologizing repeatedly to women for his anti-Hill stance on TV. An athletic director at San Jose State, after distributing a satiric sexual harassment code and facing a firestorm of protests by female coaches, has been apologizing to women. Chicago public opinion professor Noell Neumann has been apologizing to Jews for writing, in a doctoral dissertation in Germany in 1938, that "since 1933, the Jews, who have monopolized a great part of America's intellectual life, have concentrated their demagogic abilities on anti-German agitation." In each of these cases, self-appointed spokesmen for the allegedly offended groups have angrily and publicly "refused to accept" the apology, implying that the offender must grovel a lot more, if indeed the crime is not so great that no expiation can ever be "accepted."

What I want to know is: How can one apologize to groups? If you apologize to a group containing millions of people, who is authorized to accept or refuse your apology? And isn't there an incentive for one or more of these group members to get publicity and acquire brownie points for militancy by ostentatiously "not accepting" the apology? And furthermore: what exactly does having your apology "accepted" or "not accepted" *mean*? Does acceptance mean that you get a big financial reward? Does refusal mean you get shot at dawn by a firing squad? Or what?

Here at RRR we have

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solved the Apology Problem. We don't apologize to anyone, individual or group, for nothing nohow. So there!

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Does anyone remember that, at the 1987 national LP convention, the Modals' Great Red Hope to stop Ron Paul was Indian activist Russell Means, who pledged his eternal fealty to libertarianism and to the LP? Has anyone seen Russell since?

Well, Russell's back, libertarianism forgotten, as head of a new PC pro-Injun group, the American Indian Anti-Defamation Council. Russell and other leaders, at a November 26 press conference at Denver, denounced Columbus Day and the Atlanta Braves "tomahawk chop" as "institutionalized racism" to be combatted by the AIADC. The Council is pondering suing teams with Indian names, and will release position papers on media "bias" against Indians; naturally it will try to change school curricula to be pro-Indian, although on this one Russell is unfortunately behind the curve.

* * * * *

How's this for "press balance?" The L.A. *Times* has "Column Left" and "Column Right" columns facing on opposite sides of their Commentary page. Sunday November 24 has, on Column Left, an hysterical attack on Pat Buchanan by the odious Alan Dershowitz, as being "anti-Semitic" and "pro-Nazi"; on Column Right, a more thoughtful attack on Pat Buchanan by neo-con theoretician Charles Krauthammer, denouncing Pat for going after the neocons (and also quoting Pat's quote from the First R). Does anyone have the feeling that something's being left out of the spectrum?

* * * * *

On ABC's *20/20*, veteran libertarian Roy Childs, though himself tipping the scales at 450 lbs., heroically denounced the current agitation against anti-fat discrimination. "People should not be crybabies, whining and running to the government for every problem in life," said Roy. "I would like to be different than I am. I would like to have a full head of hair. I would like to have 20/20 eyesight, and I would like to look like a blond surfer. We all have to make the best of what we are."

Roy explained that he was fired from his job for being too fat, and that this was a correct decision. He has had to adjust his life and his working conditions to the reality of his weight. Maybe Roy will make a paleo yet!

* * * * *

The Marrou for President campaign is already in deep doo-doo, and it's hardly begun. With little in the bank, the campaign is heavily in debt to the national party, which doesn't have any money either. Almost nothing has been done for ballot access, and the big turnout for the Pennsylvania race between Wofford and Thornburgh has greatly raised the LP signature requirements. It looks as if the Beloved Jonah, Perry Willis, now in charge of the Marrou effort, is performing his traditional function once again.

The Beloved Jonah, Perry Willis, is performing his traditional function once again.

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The highly touted LP veep candidate, Dr. Nancy Lord, has finally told us her vision of the Libertarian future. She is not an anarchist, she says, but a champion of the "limited government envisioned by Thomas Jefferson." Included in Nancy's ideas of Jeffersonian limits is: "enforce anti-discrimination laws to correct past abuses." Ohh? Poor Jefferson! Wouldst that thou wert here at this hour! And since when does libertarianism allow "anti-discrimination laws"? Why should present people suffer for past abuses that other people committed?

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Morton Kondracke, writing about "The Left-Right Smooch-In" in *The New Republic*, notes that former Libertarian Party member Jim Pinkerton, now a White House aide, believes

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that gay marriage combines the "libertarian idea of open choice with the communitartian dedication to family-formation and fidelity."

* * * * *

The Cato Institute was recently feted by the *Wall Street Journal* for its influence in D.C. There were compliments from Bush aide Jim Pinkerton and Nadine Strossen, head of the anti-property, pro-criminal ACLU. The story noted that Cato spanned left and right: free enterprise economics and "positions on gay rights and pornography more like those of elements of the Democratic left."

* * * * *

In the *WSJ* story, Ed Crane felt forced to comment on the Rockwell-Tucker-Buckley charge about "child-molesting" in the LP platform. Ed doesn't like those planks, it turns out, but for very different reasons: they allow children to drink (did Ed favor raising the drinking age to 21?), and trying juveniles as adults for adult crimes (*i.e.*, he favors coddling young thugs). Unmentioned by Ed was the key point: the LP claim that parents or other adults have the right to molest children sexually with their "consent."

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The heroic Walter Williams told a national TV audience that he would drive to school and beat up any teacher who gave his child a condom.

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Flash! I've found the Ultimate Modal! He's Fred Orther, assistant professor of economics at the University of North Carolina-Greensboro and disciple of nihilo-hermeneutician and Left-Kochtopusian Don Lavoie of George Mason University.

Professor Orther has just established a new group, the Society of Indian Dead, dedicated to "Freedom" and "Anarchy," with a logo of the skull of a dead (American) Indian. The Indian Dead practice Satyagraha, the "living truth" (Indian Indian). Well, anything so long as it's "Indian," right?

Orther's inchoate manifesto, aimed at garnering "one million members by the year 2000," is dedicated to drugs, drugs, American Indians and their witchcraft, touchie-feelie love, "teaching people that the Earth is their Mother," reducing the world's population, abortion, never kicking your children(!), astrology, anti-racism, and hard rock. Sounds like my kind of guy! Feel like joining his "tribe"? Write the S.I.D. at P.O. Box 5639, Greensboro, N.C. 27435.

Orther recommends that Dead Indians join a crazy-quilt of organizations from Hell, including the Libertarian Party (natch!), the ACLU, the NAACP, Greenpeace, abortion rights groups, NOW, the Sierra Club, a whole slew of druggie organizations including the Friends of Hemp, and the League of Women Voters(!).

Presumably, Professor Orther is neither Indian (American or Indian) nor dead, but with Modals, who knows? Or who can tell? •

(BUCHANAN...cont. from P.1)

for office. He is a superb public speaker; and his is personally a remarkable blend of reason and passion, which enables him to rouse the masses as no one else can do in our lifetime. He is a paleo through and through; he stands for America First, and for an older and finer America, an America of liberty and individual responsibility, of a culture permeated by sound religious values, and marked by a happy and optimistic view of mankind and of the universe. He speaks to the best in every American, and he has the capacity to get them to listen. He is the best hope for bringing back that kind of America.

And wonder of wonders, they can't demonize him. he is not only loved by millions, he is warmly liked by everyone who knows him, even those who disagree violently with every one of his ideas. Liberal after liberal pundit in the media has gotten up and said: "I haven't agreed with Pat for twenty years, but he's a great guy, and will bring principle back into politics." The reason is that he is indeed a great guy, friendly, and humorous, and has the rare ability of stating his position strongly while remaining on personally friendly terms with his opponents. And that basic likability comes through on the tube.

They tried hard to demonize Pat a year ago, when the neo-conservative, neo-liberal/leftist Smear Bund launched a vicious concerted attack on Pat for being "anti-Semitic." The smear campaign

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failed badly—and how often has that happened in recent decades? It failed because Pat fought back hard, and nailed and named the enemy, so that the truth plus his basic likability carried him through with scarcely a scratch. In other words, Pat has shown the unique capacity to battle against an elite smear campaign—and win! Pat is our leader.

We can already hear the small Modal voices bellyaching: But Buchanan's not a purist, *e.g.*, "he's weak on free trade." To this we say: Come off it! To call for purity in a Libertarian Party candidate makes sense; the whole point of a libertarian political party is to expound a consistent doctrine. But to expect libertarian purity in a real-world candidate comes close to imbecility. On television and in his column, Pat has expressed forceful views on hundreds if not thousands of political, social, and cultural topics. Do we agree with every one of them? Of course not, and so what? That misses the point. The point is that Pat Buchanan is strongly infused with libertarian principle, and that he is as close as any real-world candidate could possibly come to paleo-libertarianism. All of us should be proud and delighted to work as hard as we can for a Buchanan presidency.

What are the prospects for a Buchanan race? *At minimum*, he can throw a big scare into Bush, build a movement for the future, assume leadership of the conservative and paleo ranks, marginalize the Bush conservatives and neocons, and make a tremendous splash at the Republican convention. *At maximum*, he can knock Bush out of the box—in the same way the Gene McCarthy did in 1968. By getting large (though not winning) percentage of votes in New Hampshire, McCarthy forced Lyndon Johnson to retire and not run for reelection. Consider this: suppose that Pat gets 30 or 40 percent of the vote in New Hampshire. Bush then faces a year of Pat on his neck through the convention, perhaps an independent Southern race by David Duke in November, and perhaps also a strong Democratic challenger like Cuomo—capped by an ever-deepening "recession" (read: depression). Is it so crazy to envision Bush, a few weeks after New Hampshire, announcing that for the sake of his health, for the sake of Barbara's health and blah blah, he has decided not to run in '92? Would you bet your life *against* this scenario? And at that point of course: Pat could actually win it.

We have a dream: and perhaps someday it will come to pass. (Hell, if "Dr." King can have a dream, why can't we?) Our dream is that, one day, we Buchananites can present Mr. and Mrs. America, and all the liberal and conservative and centrist elites, with a dramatic choice. We can, in the scintillating terms of Tom Wolfe, "Mau-Mau the Flak Catchers," except usually it's leftists Mau-Mauing liberals. We can say: "Look, gang: you have a choice, It's either Pat Buchanan or David Duke. If you don't vote for us, baby, you're going to get Duke. And how do you like *them* apples?"

Note: This personal endorsement does not imply endorsement of Buchanan by the Center for Libertarian Studies, which is a non-partisan, non-political organization. ●

Right-Wing Populism: A Strategy for the Paleo Movement

By Murray N. Rothbard

Well, they finally got David Duke. But he sure scared the bejesus out of them. It took a massive campaign of hysteria, of fear and hate, orchestrated by all wings of the Ruling Elite, from Official Right to Left, from President Bush and the official Republican Party through the New York-Washington-run national media through the local elites and down to local left-wing activists. It took a massive scare campaign, not only invoking the old bogey images of the Klan and Hitler, but also, more concretely, a virtual threat to boycott Louisiana, to pull out tourists and conventions, to lose jobs by businesses leaving the state. It took a campaign of slander

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that resorted to questioning the sincerity of Duke's conversion to Christianity—even challenging him to name his "official church." Even my old friend Doug Bandow participated in this cabal in the *Wall Street Journal*, which virtually flipped its wig in anti-Duke hysteria, to the extent of attacking Duke for being governed by self-interest(!)—presumably in contrast to all other politicians motivated by deep devotion to the public weal?! It took a lot of gall for Bandow to do this, since he is not a sacramental Christian (where one can point out that the person under attack was not received into the sacramental Church), but a pietist one, who is opposed to any sort of official creed or liturgy. So how can a pietist Christian challenge the bona fides of another one? And in a world where no one challenges the Christian credentials of a Chuck Colson or a Jeb Magruder? But logic went out the window: for the entire Establishment, the ruling elite, was at stake, and in that sort of battle, all supposedly clashing wings of the Establishment weld together as one unit and fight with any weapons that might be at hand.

In that sort of battle, all supposedly clashing wings of the Establishment weld together as one unit and fight with any weapons that might be at hand.

But even so: David Duke picked up 55 percent of the white vote; he lost in the runoff because the fear campaign brought out a massive outpouring of black voters. But note the excitement; politics in Louisiana rose from the usual torpor that we have been used to for decades and brought out a turnout rate—80 percent—that hasn't been seen since the nineteenth century, when party politics was fiercely partisan and ideological.

One point that has nowhere been noted: populism won in Louisiana, because in the first primary the two winners were Duke, a right-wing populist, and Edwin Edwards, a left-wing populist. Out in the cold were the two Establishment candidates: incumbent Governor Buddy Roemer, high-tax, high-spend "reform" Democrat embraced by the Bush Administration in an attempt to stop the dread Duke; and the forgotten man, Clyde Holloway, the official Republican candidate, a good Establishment conservative, who got only five percent of the vote. (Poor *Human Events* kept complaining during the campaign: why are the media ignoring Clyde Holloway? The simple answer is that he never got anywhere: an instructive metaphor for what will eventually be the fate of Establishment Conservatism.)

A left-wing populist, former Governor Edwards is a long-time Cajun crook, whose motto has been the rollicking *laissez les bon temps roulez* ("let the good times roll"). He has always been allegedly hated by businessmen and by conservative elites. But this was crisis time; and in crisis the truth is revealed: there is no fundamental difference between left-wing populism and the system we have now. Left-wing populism: rousing the masses to attack "the rich," amounts to more of the same: high taxes, wild spending, massive redistribution of working and middle class incomes to the ruling coalition of: big government, big business, and the New Class of bureaucrats, technocrats, and ideologues and their numerous dependent groups. And so, in the crunch, left-wing populism—phony populism—disappeared, and all crookery was forgiven in the mighty Edwards coalition. It is instructive that the Establishment professes to believe in Edwards' teary promises of personal reform ("I'm 65 now; the good times have mellowed"), while refusing to believe in the sincerity of David Duke's conversion.

They said in the 60s, when they gently chided the violent Left: "stop using violence, work within the system." And sure enough it worked, as the former New Left now leads the respectable intellectual classes.

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So why wasn't the Establishment willing to forgive and forget when a right-wing radical like David Duke stopped advocating violence, took off the Klan robes, and started working within the system? If it was OK to be a Commie, or a Weatherman, or whatever in your wild youth, why isn't it OK to have been a Klansman? Or to put it more precisely, if it was OK for the revered Justice Hugo Black, or for the lion of the Senate, Robert Byrd, to have been a Klansman, why not David Duke? The answer is obvious: Black and Byrd became members of the liberal elite, of the Establishment, whereas Duke continued to be a right-wing populist, and therefore anti-Establishment, this time even more dangerous because "within the system."

It is fascinating that there was nothing in Duke's current program or campaign that could not also be embraced by paleo-conservatives or paleo-libertarians: lower taxes, dismantling the bureaucracy, slashing the welfare system, attacking affirmative action and racial set-asides, calling for equal rights for all Americans, including whites: what's wrong with any of that? And of course the mighty anti-Duke coalition did not choose to oppose Duke on any of these issues. Indeed, even the most leftist of his opponents grudgingly admitted that he had a point. Instead, the Establishment concentrated on the very "negative campaigning" that they profess to abhor (especially when directed against them). (Ironic note: TV pundits, who regularly have face lifts twice a year, bitterly attacking Duke for his alleged face lift. And nobody laughed!)

What Is Right-Wing Populism?

The basic right-wing populist insight is that we live in a statist country and a statist world dominated by a ruling elite, consisting of a coalition of Big Government, Big Business, and various influential special interest groups. More specifically, the old America of individual liberty, private property, and minimal government has been replaced by a coalition of politicians and bureaucrats allied with, and even dominated by, powerful corporate and Old Money financial elites (*e.g.* the Rockefellers, the Trilateralists); and the New Class of technocrats and intellectuals, including Ivy League academics and media elites, who constitute the opinion-molding class in society. In short, we are ruled by an updated, twentieth-century coalition of Throne and Altar, except that this Throne is various big business groups, and the Altar is secular, statist intellectuals, although mixed in with the secularists is a judicious infusion of Social Gospel, mainstream Christians. The ruling class in the State has always needed intellectuals to apologize for their rule and to sucker the masses into subservience, *i.e.*, into paying the taxes and going along with State rule. In the old days, in most societies, a form of priestcraft or State Church constituted the opinion-molders who apologized for that rule. Now, in a more secular age, we have technocrats, "social scientists," and media intellectuals, who apologize for the State system and staff the ranks of its bureaucracy.

Libertarians have often seen the problem plainly, but as strategists for social change they have badly missed the boat. In what we might call "the Hayek model," they have called for spreading correct ideas, and thereby converting the intellectual elites to liberty, beginning with top philosophers and then slowly trickling on down through the decades to converting journalists and other media opinion-molders. And of course, ideas are the key, and spreading correct doctrine is a necessary part of any libertarian strategy. It might be said that the process takes too long, but a long-range strategy is important, and contrasts to the tragic futility of official conservatism which is interested only in the lessor-of-two-evils for the current election and therefore loses in the medium, let alone the long, run. But the real error is not so much the emphasis on the long run, but on ignoring the fundamental fact that the *problem is not just intellectual error.* The problem is that the intellectual elites benefit from the current system; in a crucial sense, they are part of the ruling class. The process of Hayekian conversion assumes that everyone, or at least all intellectu-

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als, are interested solely in the truth, and that economic self-interest never gets in the way. Anyone at all acquainted with intellectuals or academics should be disabused of this notion, and fast. Any libertarian strategy must recognize that intellectuals and opinion-molders are part of the fundamental problem, not just because of error, but because their own self-interest is tied into the ruling system.

Why then did Communism implode? Because in the end the system was working so badly that even the *nomenklatura* got fed up and threw in the towel. The Marxists have correctly pointed out that a social system collapses when the ruling class becomes demoralized and loses its will to power; manifest failure of the Communist system brought about that demoralization. But doing nothing, or relying only on educating the elites in correct ideas, will mean that our own statist system will not end until our entire society, like that of the Soviet Union, has been reduced to rubble. Surely, we must not sit still for that. A strategy for liberty must be far more active and aggressive.

Hence the importance, for libertarians or for minimal government conservatives, of having a one-two punch in their armor: not simply of spreading correct ideas, but also of exposing the corrupt ruling elites and how they benefit from the existing system, more specifically how they are ripping us off. Ripping the mask off elites is "negative campaigning" at its finest and most fundamental.

This two-pronged strategy is (a) to build up a cadre of our own libertarians, minimal-government opinion-molders, based on correct ideas; and (b) to tap the masses directly, to short-circuit the dominant media and intellectual elites, to rouse the masses of people against the elites that are looting them, and confusing them, and oppressing them, both socially and economically. But this strategy must fuse the abstract and the concrete; it must not simply attack elites in the abstract, but must focus specifically on the *existing* statist system, on those who right now constitute the ruling classes.

Libertarians have long been puzzled about whom, about which groups, to reach out to. The simple answer: everyone, is not enough, because to be relevant politically, we must concentrate strategically on those groups who are most oppressed and who also have the most social leverage.

The reality of the current system is that it constitutes an unholy alliance of "corporate liberal" Big Business and media elites, who, through big government, have privileged and caused to rise up a parasitic Underclass, who, among them all, are looting and oppressing the bulk of the middle and working classes in America. Therefore, the proper strategy of libertarians and paleos is a strategy of "right-wing populism," that is: to expose and denounce this unholy alliance, and to call for getting this preppie-underclass-liberal media alliance off the backs of the rest of us: the middle and working classes.

A Right-Wing Populist Program

A right-wing populist program, then, must concentrate on dismantling the crucial existing areas of State and elite rule, and on liberating the average American from the most flagrant and oppressive features of that rule. In short:

1. *Slash taxes* - All taxes, sales, business, property, etc., but especially the most oppressive politically and personally: the income tax. We must work toward repeal of the income tax and abolition of the IRS.

2. *Slash welfare.* Get rid of underclass rule by abolishing the welfare system, or, short of abolition, severely cutting and restrict it.

3. *Abolish racial or group privileges.* Abolish affirmative action, set aside racial quotas, etc., and point out that the root of such quotas is the entire "civil rights" structure, which tramples on the property rights of every American.

4. *Take Back the Streets: Crush Criminals.* And by this I mean, of course, not "while collar criminals" or "inside traders" but violent street criminals—robbers, muggers, rapists, murderers. Cops must

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be unleashed, and allowed to administer instant punishment, subject of course to liability when they are in error.

5. *Take Back the Streets: Get Rid of the Bums.* Again: unleash the cops to clear the streets of bums and vagrants. Where will they go? Who cares? Hopefully, they will disappear, that is, move from the ranks of the petted and cosseted bum class to the ranks of the productive members of society.

6. *Abolish the Fed; Attack the Banksters.* Money and banking are recondite issues. But the realities can be made vivid: the Fed is an organized cartel of banksters, who are creating inflation, ripping off the public, destroying the savings of the average American. The hundreds of billions of taxpayer handouts to S&L banksters will be chicken-feed compared to the coming collapse of the commercial banks.

7. *America First.* A key point, and not meant to be seventh in priority. The American economy is not only in recession; it is stagnating. The average family is worse off now than it was two decades ago. Come home America. Stop supporting bums abroad. Stop all foreign aid, which is aid to banksters and their bonds and their export industries. Stop gloabaloney, and let's solve our problems at home.

8. *Defend Family Values.* Which means, get the State out of the family, and replace State control by parental control. In the long run, this means ending public schools, and replacing them by private schools. But we must realize that voucher and even tax credit schemes are not, despite Milton Friedman, transitional demands on the path to privatized education; instead, they will make matters worse by fastening government control more totally upon the private schools. *Within* the public school system, the only sound alternative is decentralization, and back to local, community neighborhood control of the schools.

Further: We must reject once and for all the Modal Libertarian view that all government-operated resources must be cesspools. We must try, short of ultimate privatization, to operate government facilities in a manner most conducive to a business, or to neighborhood control. But that means: that the public schools must allow prayer, and we must abandon the absurd left-atheist interpretation of the First Amendment that "establishment of religion" means not allowing prayer in public schools, or a creche in a schoolyard or a public square at Christmas. We must return to common sense, and original intent, in constitutional interpretation.

So far: every one of these right-wing populist programs is totally consistent with a hard-core libertarian position. But all real-world politics is coalition politics, and there are other areas where libertarians might well compromise with their paleo or traditionalist or other partners in a populist coalition. For example, on family values, take such vexed problems as pornography, prostitution, or abortion. Here, pro-legalization and pro-choice libertarians should be willing to compromise on a decentralist stance; that is, to end the tyranny of the federal courts, and to leave these problems up to states and better yet, localities and neighborhoods, that is, to "community standards."

Alternative Libertarian Strategies

A. Corridors of Power

There are two alternative strategies to the foregoing for the libertarian movement. One is the Koch-Crane strategy, the strategy of the Cato Institute, Citizens for a Sound Economy, et al. It is the antipode of a right-wing populist strategy: it is the strategy of cozying up to the Corridors of Power, of lobbying and influencing the top elites, of nudging them gently onto a more libertarian path. It is clear that this strategy, pursued by Koch, et al. since the early 1980s, is precisely the analog of the strategy pursued by Official Washington conservatism during this same era, and starting also at the beginning of the Reagan administration. As in the case of Official Conservatism, the strategy has been successful in terms of acquiring respectability, official contacts, jobs in Washington, and in general, pleasant associations

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and perhaps even contracts with Power. But it has been spectacularly unsuccessful in achieving any significant gains for libertarian principle. On the contrary: all that this Corridor of Power strategy has accomplished is to defang both the conservative and the libertarian movement, and to make them lapdogs of Power. The marginal influence of libertarians has been to find some technical ways to make the workings of the State a bit more efficient, or a bit less inefficient. And that hurts rather than helps the cause of liberty.

The more thoughtful advocates of this path have called it the Fabian strategy. Look, they have said, the Fabian Society was brilliantly successful at a gradual, respectable approach. Instead of being militant and confronting the State, as the radical Marxists would do, the Fabians insinuated themselves into Power and nudged it along, gradually and inexorably, into collectivism. Isn't this similarly a surer path for conservatives or libertarians? Well, the path may be more comfortable and certainly more lucrative personally for the right-wing Fabians. But the Fabian strategy overlooks a crucial point. Apart from the fact that the radical Marxists were right in regarding Fabianism as a sellout of Marxist principle, the Fabians were only gently nudging the State in a direction where it was happily willing and eager to go: advancing even more power to the State and its elites. But Fabian libertarians or limited-government conservatives would be pushing principles that are very much *against* the grain of the ruling elites: and hence the Fabian success story in British socialism is irrelevant to today. To the contrary, the likelihood is precisely what did happen: that would-be Fabian, gradualist, and respectable, conservatives and libertarians, will find themselves coopted, and get Fabianized in the wrong direction.

The much-heralded Koch-Crane strategy of appealing to "fiscally conservative, socially liberal" yuppies is part and parcel of the same misguided and disastrous strategy. Upper-middle class yuppie suburbanites may be lots of fun at cocktail parties, but they are precisely the wrong class for a libertarian strategy to covet. For, of all the groups and classes in society, they are most comfortable and the least disgruntled, the least likely to nurse a deep grievance against the State. And even if, over a couple of martinis, they should tell the Catoites: "Yes, we really agree with you on most issues," they are least likely to do anything about it, to rock the boat and oppose the existing system of State capitalism. These upper-middle-class yuppies are the weakest possible reed for any libertarian, or any limited government, strategy.

> Of course, the Koch-Crane types often choose this path because they themselves lean toward cultural and social leftism.

Of course, the Koch-Crane types often choose this path not just for strategic reasons, but because they themselves lean toward cultural and social leftism: toward egalitarianism, and toward a libertine lifestyle. Hence, they are hardly the sort to lead the charge against the cultural and social decay which agitates the American public almost as much as more directly political issues, while their leftist egalitarianism inclines them to support the "anti-discrimination" laws that trample on the rights of private property.

B. The Libertarian Party

The other alternative strategic route for libertarians is to separate themselves out from the mainstream, and to form and develop a self-conscious movement, functioning as a combination of philosophic debating society and social club. This is precisely what libertarians did in the 1970s, except in the guise of a political party.

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Different strategies are required by different social conditions, and a key point we should acknowledge is that, by forming a separate sect, the Libertarian Party performed an important, necessary, and laudable function during the 1970s. From the 1930s through the first half of the 1950s, libertarians functioned as an important ideological ginger group within the broad coalition that we now know as the "Old," or Original, Right: a coalition forged in reaction against the horrors of the New Deal, both domestic and foreign. Libertarians felt themselves to be an "extreme" and consistent wing of the Right, and they functioned within the broader coalition happily and harmoniously as friends and as ideological and political allies. Unfortunately, that Old Right coalition, devoted to liberty, private property, free markets, and an anti-interventionist, America First foreign policy, began to collapse during the late 1950s, as death and retirement in leadership ranks (*e.g.* Bob Taft, Colonel McCormick), left a vacuum at the top that was filled by the burgeoning "New" Right, headed by Bill Buckley and *National Review*. That New Right, while in early days paying lip service to the forms of the Old Right, transformed it within a few years into a global-crusading, war-mongering, and basically pro-state movement. Unfortunately, many libertarians were at that time sucked in to became appendages to this statist revolution within the old form. At that point, in despair by the end of the 1950s, those of us resisting this trend felt it imperative to separate ourselves out from a Right-wing that had been captured from under us. It became vital to separate the two sharply in our minds and in the minds of the public, and also to stop giving libertarian and limited government cover to a movement that had been transformed into virtually their opposite.

Finally, by the end of the 1960s, a split in Young Americans for Freedom over the draft caused the growing libertarian wing of YAF to be expelled or to get out voluntarily. That wing, now ready for independent libertarian political action, formed the Libertarian Party in 1971, and it quickly caught on as a means of providing an independent home for libertarians. At first, the LP was dominated by a neo-Randian, pro-war group, distinguishable from the *National Review* right largely by favoring civil liberties. At the 1975 LP convention, however, those of us who were dedicated "isolationists" captured the Party, and from then on, the LP was able (1) to develop libertarianism as a self-conscious creed separate and distinct from Buckleyite conservatism and *a fortiori* from the increasingly statist, pro-civil rights, and neo-con dominated Right of the late 1970s and after; (2) the LP was able to educate its own members and develop a principled "cadre," and (3), as the LP caught on, its political campaigns succeeded, by the time of the well-financed 1980 campaign, to educate the media and politically interested Americans on what "libertarianism" is all about. So that: by the early 1980s, most politically aware Americans could tell you what libertarianism was, and also, while they did not necessarily agree with it, they treated libertarianism as a creed worthy of respect and attention.

All this was accomplished by the Libertarian Party, and nothing can take those achievements away from it. But after the early 1980s, as Kochian money turned to a soft-core, Corridors of Power strategy and left the LP, the Libertarian Party began to become increasingly irrelevant. Even though most Americans had heard of libertarianism and even respected its doctrine, the Party wasn't winning adherents, let alone elections. More and more "real world" people left the LP, which therefore became increasingly flaky, increasingly libertine and culturally leftist, and above all, increasingly irrelevant. The Ron Paul Presidential campaign of 1988 was a last, desperate attempt to transform the Libertarian Party into a real-world, "real people" organization, into a party that middle-class and working-class people could feel at home in. The effort was a noble one that failed; the numbers simply weren't there, and when this failure became evident, the "real world," or

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what might be called the "proto-paleo," faction of the party walked out, and what's left of the LP is now spiraling downward into oblivion.

It is a happy coincidence that just when the LP fell apart in 1989, the collapse of Communism made the Cold War obsolete, and gave us hope that many conservatives would now rejoin us in an anti-interventionist, anti-global America First foreign policy. Happily, we became aware that there was indeed a wing of conservatives, unfortunately all too small among the Official leadership in New York and Washington, who agreed with us that the time had come for a resurgent isolationism. And it also turned out that these "paleo-conservatives," a generation younger than the "traditionalists" of twenty and thirty years ago, were trenchant and hard-core critics of the welfare state, scorners of the Official Conservative scramble for government jobs, and bitterly anti-statist in their basic outlook. Hence, the now famous rapprochement with the paleo-conservatives, the creation of a new "paleo-libertarian" movement as a way to separate ourselves out from the flakes and cultural leftists who constitute the LP and "Modal Libertarians," and the happy fusion with the paleocons into a new "paleo" movement. For myself, after thirty-five years in the ideological wilderness, first allied with the New Left and then in a sectarian LP, I am happy to be once again at home in a new, revivified reincarnation of the Grand Old Right of my youth. Who says "you can't go home again?"

In my days in the Libertarian Party, one of my happiest associations was with the head of the Arizona Party, long-time political consultant Emil Franzi, one of the most astute political minds in the LP. (A "proto-paleo" if there ever was one, Franzi is also long out of the LP.) Franzi broke down LP members into three sociological categories: "Murray, there are three types of people in the Libertarian Party: the hippies, the preppies, and the rednecks." As the self-proclaimed leader of the Redneck Caucus, Franzi left no doubt where he himself stood. The "hippies" of course were the people we have dubbed the Modals; the "preppies" (or wannabee preppies) were the Koch-Crane machine. The "rednecks" were the real people. In a sense the strategy we are now proclaiming is a strategy of Outreach to the Rednecks. And there really are virtually no rednecks in the Libertarian Party. Truly, even at best, there were never very many: the Redneck Caucus never went beyond a gallant handful.

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The Lesson of Joe McCarthy

Quick: Who was the most hated, the most smeared, the most universally reviled, man in American political life, before David Duke? You're right: it was "Tailgunner Joe" McCarthy. Why is that? Joe McCarthy was not a Ku Kluxer, he was not a Nazi, he was not a libertarian, he was not even a conservative. One thing quickly forgotten amidst the anti-McCarthy hysteria of the 1950s was that Joe McCarthy was a moderate, or liberal, Republican. In addition, McCarthy did not create the frenetic anti-Communist world view: indeed, it was a view that he absorbed out of our political culture, a view created and totally shared by conservatives, centrists, and Cold War liberals. Indeed, one of the most common, and revealing, lines about McCarthy was: "We agree with his goals [anti-Communism], but we don't agree with his means." Indeed, when McCarthy confronted the Army and the entire Center in those famous hearings, nobody disputed all

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the arrows that he drew of Soviet Communism encircling the United States and putting us in imminent peril. It was in fact true: except for the minority of Communists and fellow-travelers, everyone agreed on McCarthy's basic world view. The problem was that McCarthy, in his crusade, was a right-wing populist. He was not content with attacking Communist infiltrators in the abstract; he took the alleged danger seriously; and insisted on naming names, in naming and exposing these whom he considered the enemy.

The fascinating, the exciting, thing about Joe McCarthy was precisely his "means"—his right-wing populism: his willingness and ability to reach out, to short-circuit the power elite: liberals, centrists, the media, the intellectuals, the Pentagon, Rockefeller Republicans, and reach out and whip up the masses directly. And *that*, above all, was what they hated. And that's why they had to destroy him, why of all the anti-Communists in the country, they had to make *his* name a dictionary term ("McCarthyism") for political evil. Centrist politics, elitist politics, is deliberately boring and torpid. The people get put to sleep, as a Bush faces a Dukakis, or, as it looked for a while, Bush waltzes around with a Clinton or a Kerrey. But right-wing populist politics is rousing, exciting, ideological, and that is precisely why the elites don't like it: let sleeping dogs lie. With Joe McCarthy there was a sense of dynamism, of fearlessness, and of open-endedness, as if, whom would he subpoena next? The sainted Eleanor Roosevelt?

With Big Business, the military, liberal intellectuals, Rockefeller Republicans, the media, all ranged against him, McCarthy was finally brought low. He had almost no movement behind him; he had no political infrastructure. And Joe McCarthy was, unfortunately, not suited for the new medium—television—that he had been using so effectively to reach the masses directly. He was a "hot" person for a "cool" medium; his jowls, and his heavy beard, wrecked his standing with an image-bound public. And above all, by getting the U.S. Senate—an institution which McCarthy, not a libertarian, loved and revered—to censure him, they broke Joe's heart, and he was finished from then on.

What Is To Be Done?

Libertarians are now split into paleos and modals. The Libertarian Party, now irrelevant and inexorably Modal-dominated, is History. It is finished, over, *kaput*. It is vanishing into the dustbin of history. For those good people still devoted to, or trapped in, the LP, it is time to realize that the LP has accomplished its historic task—to develop libertarianism and to win public recognition of the doctrine—and its time is long over. To paraphrase Nathaniel Branden's farewell to Ayn Rand, it is time to say to the LP: "Thank you . . . and goodbye!" with the emphasis on the final word. For sensible people and paleo-libertarians, the time has come to re-enter the real world, and to help forge a coalition that will create a successful right-wing populist movement which will, by necessity, be in large part libertarian.

To go over the heads of the media and political elites, to reach the working and middle class directly, to spread the ideas of liberty and the knowledge of how they have been oppressed, requires inspiring and charismatic political leadership. It requires, in addition to intellectual cadre, political leaders who will be knowledgeable, courageous, dynamic, exciting and effective in mobilizing and building a movement. It requires leadership able to seize the moment to act, leadership with the moxie and the fortitude to surmount the slanders and smears that will inevitably be directed against it. It requires ideological and political "entrepreneurs" in the best sense, leadership that is willing and able to forge a paleo coalition to split off heartland and paleo-conservatives from Official and neo-conservatives, to raise the banner and to build a real-world movement in which, as in the days of the Old Right, libertarians can play a valuable part.

Some of my friends are stressing a patient, local, grass-roots strategy. Grass-roots activity is fine and necessary. But what this idea ig-

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nores is that gross-roots activity is, let's face it, inherently plodding and boring. And that therefore, it will never get off the ground, unless it is sparked, and vivified, and energized by high-level, preferably presidential, political campaigns. What we need to build a new paleo movement, particularly at this stage, is a presidential candidate, someone whom all wings of anti-Establishment rightists can get behind, with enthusiasm. And while Howard Phillips' Taxpayers Party may eventually play an important role, at this point we can simply say that the Taxpayer Party has not yet been fully formed and that right now he has no presidential candidate. The arena of action now is to find someone to lead a people's revolution against the crumbling George Bush in the New Hampshire and other Republican presidential primaries—and to take that fight on to the Republican convention, hoping at most to win in '92, and at the least to build a powerful movement for '96, and beyond. ●

It's Time for a War!

by M.N.R.

Suddenly, everyone agrees that George Bush is mired in deep doo-doo. Unhappy and inattentive at best about domestic affairs, he finds the economy bogged down in an increasingly grim recession, and he waffles in abject confusion about such weighty matters as taxes, the budget, interest rates, and civil rights. Open internecine warfare has broken out over the universally hated John Sununu. Things are spinning out of control. And the key election is coming up. What to do? What to do?

Why, of course, George. Let's face it: The time has come for ANOTHER WAR! War! You shine there, George; you can get the flags a wavin', and the missiles a flyin'. You can pick name Operations and dragoon the media again. You can refurbish your civil rights image with General Colin Powell at your side, you can bring Stormin' Norman out of retirement to look satisfyingly military on TV. You can bedevil your enemies, and send your poll ratings up to 90 percent again. So all you need is an Enemy, and you can get another swift, massive, gook-destroying, feel-good-about-America victory, maximizing the glow of glory for Election Day. So you need an Enemy, another Stalin or preferably another Hitler, who seems able to provide a suitable hate object and punching bag for another century or so. So let's go down the list.

The time has come for ANOTHER WAR! War! You shine there, George; you can get the flags a wavin', and the missiles a flyin'.

1. *A Saddam Replay.* Saddam is still there; everything is in place; he's already been established Another Hitler, indeed Worse Than Hitler. So you can send the bombs and missiles again easily. The media just go back into their accustomed act. Of course, there is a little hitch: cranking up an Operation Desert Storm, II: The Sequel, might remind everyone that the first Glorious Victory was a bit of a botch. How many sequels can you get away with, without looking foolish?

2. *The Libyan Card.* Ahh, Libya! You have now brought the Libyan hit men back into the public consciousness, indicting them for that Pan Am explosion in Scotland. If necessary, you can revive the scare about the "four bearded Libyan hit men" who had penetrated the United States to assassinate President Reagan. Remember that one? Also, you have already established Colonel Khadaffy as the *previous* Hitler, and a nutty one at that. And it wouldn't take much to bomb Libya back to the Stone Age, since it's pretty much there already. Of course, our bombers already did murder the Colonel's little baby, so

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you might have the Sequel problem again.

3. *Bringing Syria In.* Syria is a nice big country, with plenty of civilian targets to bomb. Israel would be grateful for knocking out its biggest potential enemy; the Amen Corner has already been griping because Hafez Assad is supposed to be the one *really* responsible for that Pan Am explosion. Of course, there *is* the question of how many countries you can pulverize for one exploding plane. And besides, if you wipe out *all* the Arab countries, what will happen to your beloved eternal "peace process" in the Middle East?

4. *A Korean War Replay.* How about shifting continents altogether? We never really solved matters to our full satisfaction on the Asian Continent. The Korean War was massive, and satisfyingly total, but we never really won it. Marshall Kim Il Sung, another Hitler/Stalin, is *still there*! And he's getting nuclear weapons! Let's finish him off! If we let him have nukes, pretty soon the North Koreans will be sending their nuke-loaded sampans across the Pacific to invade California! Of course, there might be a bit of a problem: if we try to occupy North Korea we might get bogged down in the jungle; and if we wipe it out totally, that might not play well with those wimps in the United Nations. And also, we've got that Sequel problem again.

5. *A Vietnam Replay.* Why can't we put the Vietnam Syndrome to rest once and for all? Let's do that war again, wipe out the whole country, bring back Westmoreland for final vindication. Of course, in addition to the Sequel question, which will remind everyone of our defeat, there *is* the little problem of finding an excuse, now that those Commie Yellowbellies are loosening up a bit. And it would aggravate your buddies in China (as would a Korean replay), who wouldn't appreciate nuking fellow Commies on their doorstep.

6. *Fidel!* Yeah, maybe we should stay away from Asia. How about Our Backyard? That SOB Fidel is still there, an unrepentant Commie hardline Stalinst. And only *90 Miles From Home*! Let's Avenge the Bay of Pigs! Call back all the Bay of Pigs—Watergate boys—those who are not too old, and who haven't been too implicated in the Kennedy Assassination. And you'd wrap up the Florida vote! Of course, it might be considered a bit old hat, and again you'd need a suitable excuse. Sending us a boatload of psycho criminals is not quite enough. Maybe we can blame him for . . . drugs! The Drug War has been in cold storage lately.

7. *That's it: Peru!* My personal favorite: With Peru, you can combine a small country, in Our Backyard, lightly armed and backward and no match for our bombs and missiles with . . . Drugs! And Commies! Peru is the heart of international drugsville, growing almost all the coca leaf, that the U.S. has been trying to eradicate for years. Unfortunately, the damned Peruvian peasants insist on growing the coca crop as their only livelihood; they have not listened enough to Bill Bennett on TV. Protecting the peasants in their damned jungle is the viciously Commie terrorist group, the Sendero Luminoso. Ironically enough, this is the only group protecting the property rights of the coca peasantry. To top it off, these peasants are Quechua-speaking Indians, as are the Sendero Luminoso, whereas their hated "free-market" rulers in Lima speak Spanish. George, we've already sent troops to the Peruvian jungle to "train" the Peruvian army in counter-guerilla, anti-Sendero tactics. But you know these Latinos can't fight: it's time to send American troops in force into the Peruvian jungle to kill the Commie Senderos, crush the peasants, and destroy every single coca leaf. Thus, we wipe out drugs, get rid of Commies, take care of a bunch of yellowbellies, and win great military glory, all at the same time! You can't lose, George!

What's that you say? We might *lose*, get bogged down in the jungle, and insure a Commie victory? Rubbish, George. Surely, *you're* not falling for the Vietnam Syndrome? No, George, there's no downside to this one—except maybe if the environmentalists discover that the Peruvian jungle is a crucial part of the "global ecology."

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Then, you're back to Square One. ●

Beam Me Up, Jerry

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

"A politician can do anything he wants," Jerry Brown once told an aide, "so long as he manipulates the right symbols." In running for president, ex-governor Brown has a new set of symbols for manipulation. He seeks to use the growing hatred of politicians, special interests, and money-bag influence peddling, to promote the political left.

We've come to expect innovation from Brown. Long before Debra Winger spent the weekend with then-governor Bob Kerrey, Brown accompanied Linda Ronstadt on an African safari. Of course, it wasn't a real safari, for Brown was P.C. when P.C. wasn't cool. He even agonized over killing medflies.

The candidate of "limits" (to everything but the government's appetite), Brown was for "new ideas" before Gary Hart even met Donna Rice. He was the nominee of "the future," a potent if meaningless concept. He would, he promised, show us that "small is beautiful" in all areas but the state payroll.

When he was elected governor in 1974, Brown refused to move into the glitteringly ugly Nancion of Reagans. Instead, he slept on a mattress on the floor of a bare apartment, used an old Plymouth instead of a limo, and wore a plastic watch. It was his Ralph Nader period, and it was great politics. It was also phony. He displayed the symbols of frugality, but went on a state spending spree.

Brown expanded government in the life of every Californian, except in the one area where it's justified: his Rose Birdized justice system cost taxpayers plenty, while poor babying thugs, and smirking at victims.

Brown seeks to use the growing hatred of politicians, special interests, and money-bag influence peddling, to promote the political left.

Today Brown is no longer an ascetic, but a handsomely graying statesman in $2,000 suits and a solid gold Rolex. And he's running for president on a platform that denounced big government and calls for gargantuan government.

Brown says he wants to end money power in politics, while putting the government in charge of our money. He seeks decentralization through centralization. He hates lobbyists, but supports a system where a few words in one law can mean billions.

Advocating a centralized energy policy to cut heating, cooling, and production, he wants global regulations to cool the earth. (Just what we need: the U.N. running the weather.) He criticizes Reagan's tax-rate cuts, and seeks to resurrect a militarized make-work corps from New Deal days. And he promotes draconian environmental laws to make us consume less, *i.e.* be poorer.

All this makes as much sense as his plan to launch a California government satellite in the 1970s. (Not that orbiting politicians wouldn't have their appeal.)

"We must live as part of the web of life," says Brown, but at the center he puts the tarantula of government. He is sure how the web should be spun, for his "greatest strength" is envisioning "what hasn't been and bringing it about." He can, that is, see into the future, and know what's good for us.

A Zen Catholic of inherited money and power, Brown advised blue-collar workers to earn "psychic rewards" rather than money. When he was out of power, he sought "self-awareness" on expensive trips to Japan, India, Russia, and Bangladesh, a process he recommended to everyone, presumably including workers who could buy their tickets with psychic earnings.

Can Brown's third presidential campaign succeed? A recent poll shows him first among the Democratic candidates, and he would be the

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most interesting opposition to Bush: the vision-less George vs. crystal-power Jerry. But one speed bump on the road to the White House is Brown's galactic disorganization.

Observers compared his administration to physics' Brownian Motion, in which zig-zagging particles move about constantly, achieving nothing. When it comes to the nuts and bolts of office, or at least the bolts, Brown has the attention span of a small boy who has to go to the bathroom.

Right now, that attention is focused on D.C. Voters are "looking for a man on a white horse to ride in and tell them what to do," Brown once told an appointee. But he'd better careful how he mounts. In President Moonbeam's case, it would have to be a unicorn.●

P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

May I Carve Your Turkey With My Tomahawk?

In school, we're told the P.C. story of Squanto, the Indian who showed the Pilgrims how to fertilize their corn with fish. In fact, no North American tribe understood the concept of fertilization. Squanto had lived with the English settlers of Newfoundland, who did fertilize their crops with fish. He had visited England and Spain, and spoke fluent English. Squanto was, in other words, no Noble Savage.

American Renaissance (Box 2504, Menlo Park, Ca 94026, $20 a year), which notes the above, also reprints one of Mark Twain's most un-P.C. (and therefore unanthologized) essays, "The Noble Red Men." Writing in 1870, Twain called the Indian a "poor, filthy, naked, scurvy vagabond"—a beggar, a thief, a "skulking coward and a windy braggart," who "kills helpless women and little children, and massacres the men in their beds; and then brags about it as long as he lives."

When the "Red Man declares war, the first intimation his friend the white man who he supped with at twilight has of it, is when the war whoop rings in his ears, and the tomahawk sinks into his brain."

The "Noble Red Man" buys his wife with "a crippled horse, or a damaged musket, or a dog, or a gallon of grasshoppers, and an inefficient old mother," and "makes her work like an abject slave all the rest of her life to compensate him for the outlay. He never works himself. She builds the habitation, when they use one (it consists in hanging half a dozen rags over the weather side of a sage-brush bush to roost under); gathers and brings home the fuel; takes care of the raw-boned pony when they possess such grandeur; she walks and carries her nursing cubs while he rides."

"Such is the genuine American Aborigine," says Twain. "I did not get him from books, but from personal observation."

The Gorgeous Mosaic

Rather than insisting that immigrants learn English, the New York City public schools provide teaching in *82* languages, including Bemba, Ga, Mossi, and Twi.

Live Sea Scrolls

Now that photos of the Dead Sea Scrolls have been released for all scholars to see, there will be even more controversy. One newly available fragment mentions a Messiah-like figure, a "branch of David" and "Root of Jesse," who is put to death by "piercings." This has, in our post-Christian era, a non-P.C. sound. The scrolls, which were written as late as A.D. 50, show—said an academic spin doctor—that Christianity was a creation of the Essenes, the sect that apparently produced the scrolls. The clear implication, of course, is something else.

Bumissimo

Richard P. Kreimer, the derelict who befouled the Morristown public library, is back in the news. A federal judge ruled in Kreimer's favor after he was tossed out of the reading room because of his putrid smell, agreeing that his "rights" had been violated. (Real library users have no standing, of course.) Now the city has settled with Kreimer for $150,000. Instead of a nightstick lovingly applied to his shins, this tramp gets paid off if he promises not to institute any more lawsuits with the help of that pro-bum, pro-

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criminal, and anti-property organization the ACLU.

A Funny Leftist?

One of the few far leftists with a sense of humor, *In These Times* columnist Joel Bleifuss recently said he wanted to write about all the stories his editors had spiked over the years, including "the inflatable breast transplant, that special interest group, the Jewish Lesbian Daughters of Holocaust Survivors," and "George Bush's extra-marital dalliance."

Instead, Bleifuss quotes Judith Stein of Boston Fat Liberation. "Fat liberation," she says, "is a radical movement working to end the oppression of fat women." Fat "oppression is inextricably linked to sexism." "We see the need for change at the radical (root) level of how Western patriarchy tries to constrain, contain, and restrain women's strength." Fat liberation also battles the sell-out "size-acceptance movement." These "liberals" fail to "take a position against diets."

Bleifuss also mentions that T.P. is not P.C. Oregon ecos are urging us to follow "the 700 million people in India and forego toilet paper" as emblematic of the "wastefulness of industrial consumerism." All people worried about "exterminating trees" should "substitute their hand and water for a roll of toilet paper."

T.P. is not P.C. Oregon ecos are urging us to follow "the 700 million people in India and forego toilet paper."

Never Trust the Humorless

Democrat presidential candidate Bob Kerrey got in big trouble when he told a joke involving two lesbians and Jerry Brown to fellow candidate Bill Clinton before an open mike. Although no newspaper will print the joke, we are assured that it is unfunny and horrendously un-P.C. Gay and lesbian groups demanded apologies and lifetime dedication to their cause by Kerrey. Some even wanted Clinton to repudiate the joke, and asked ominously "if he laughed."

At a Republican fundraiser, Dan Quayle's press secretary David Beckwith said that the "good news" was that Kerrey had lost the lesbian vote; the "bad news" was that they are "moving our way." When the inevitable explosion followed, he too had to crawl on his belly like a reptile.

On the Off Chance You Haven't Heard

Three black Newark, New Jersey, policemen have been indicted for stomping a white motorist in "revenge" for the Rodney King affair.

A Dream Indeed

Michael McGee, the black Milwaukee alderman who organized a racial militia and demanded $600 million, has a dream. He wants the black area of Milwaukee to secede and form a new city called "King's Paradise."

Maligned Groups and Their New P.C. Names

The Angry:
People of choler
Priests:
People of collar
Square-dance deejays:
People of caller
Collators:
People of culler
Doughnut glazers:
People of cruller
—From *Spy* Magazine

President Jerk

At a recent sports benefit, reports *Spy*, George Bush was teamed with Arnold Schwarzenegger for indoor volleyball. "Come on, Terminator," called Bush. "You can do it, Terminator." When his team lost, however, the gracious prez stage whispered to his aides, "Terminator's kind of a *pussy*, isn't he?" Tragically, Schwarzenegger didn't react as one would have hoped.

Cover Up That Statue

A reproduction of Goya's famous "Naked Maja" painting was removed from a Penn State classroom where it had hung for ten years because it

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is a "form of sexual harassment."

Stanford News

The *Stanford Review* reports the formation of a new student group, "The Half Asian People's Association." Stanford is also the school where the drawing of thick lips on a Beethoven poster, in response to black claims that the composer was black, led to two years of P.C. hysteria. But when a black fraternity distributed a poster of a black African warrior holding the severed head of a white man, the official response was a yawn.

Burnsed Up

Sen. Conrad Burns (R.-Mont.) stepped off the Senate floor and invited a group of civil rights lobbyists to a fundraising auction at his son's school. "What are you auctioning?" Burns, a former professional auctioneer, was asked. "Slaves," he replied.

A torrent of horrified complaints to the media followed, but Burns said come on, slave auctions are common in Montana. "You sell the kids," he said, "and they perform a day's work for whoever buys them."

Burns' press secretary wanted to know what the fuss was about. Slave is a "generic term. Moses was a slave."

God Bless This Honorable Court

A death sentence in Pennsylvania was voided by a higher court because the prosecutor mentioned God in his summary, which was alleged to be unconstitutional. The defendant, a 28-year-old man who had robbed and beaten to death a 70-year-old woman, must now have another trial, which the prosecutor called "outrageous, incredibly ludicrous, and completely ridiculous."

The Constitution forbids the establishment of a federal church. Period. It does not forbid prayer in schools or prosecutors talking about God. It does not even forbid *state* churches. Virginia and Massachusetts had established churches into the 1830s.

Sighted Joke, Sank Same

A three-star admiral whose newsletter contained non-P.C. jokes has been officially admonished by the Navy. Pentagon sources say that Vice Admiral Jerry O. Tuttle can forget a fourth star and any desirable assignments in the future. The crime? In his circular to other male admirals, Tuttle said that "beer is better than women" because

"...beer will wait patiently for you in the car while you play racquetball."
"...you don't have to wine and dine beer."
"...a beer doesn't get jealous if you grab another one."
"...because hangovers go away."
"...because beer never has a headache."

Then You Give the Tomahawk Chop

A committee of the United Methodist Church has recommended that a pagan American Indian ceremony be included in the church's official *Book of Worship*.

The harvest ritual features the blowing of a conch shell, handling mud, sprinkling ashes on the shoulders of people in the congregation and brushing them off with an eagle's feather, painting faces, and spreading cedar chips on the floor.

The only Methodists protesting are . . . Christian Indians, who thought they had left all that nonsense behind. Note: the liberal committee did find one part of the original ceremony to be beyond the P.C. pale: pipe-smoking!

Mulatto Liberation

Tired of being identified as "affirmatively black," mulatto Americans are demanding their own identity, according to the *Atlanta Constitution.*

Mulattos want quotas in jobs and education, their own student organizations, and a new "biracial" category in the next census. In Atlanta, the Interracial Family Alliance has formed Project RACE (Reclassify All Children Equally).

"It's for the self-esteem of multiracial people," said Susan Graham of RACE. "They have every right to call themselves biracial and for other people to recognize them as biracial, because that's what they are."

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There were 218,000 black-white couples in 1988 who produced 41,301 children in that year. Some children of mixed marriages prefer the term mulatto, says the *Constitution*, which puts the term in quotes. Others like to be called biracial (the P.C. name) or mixed.

Terminology isn't always so difficult, however, In another story on rural White Southerners, the newspaper refers to "rednecks" and "poor white trash." What would happen to the reporter who referred to "poor black trash"?

Thanks a Lot

The International Olympic Committee has finally lifted the boycott on South African sports competition, but in cahoots with the Communist ANC, it has said the South Africans must compete under a new flag and national anthem of the committee's choosing, and may not use the traditional springbok antelope as an emblem. Andries Treurnicht, head of the Conservative Party, called it the "logical outcome of the road taken" by South African President de Klerk.

Korean Merchants Take the Rap

Korean mom-and-pop grocery stores operating in black areas are typically the recipients not of gratitude, but anger, envy, and hatred. Typical is a new song by the rapper "Ice Cube," in which he tells shoplift-shy Koreans:

"So, don't follow me up and down your market

"Or your little chop suey ass'll be a target...

"So pay respect to the black fist

"Or we'll burn your store right down to a crisp..."

(Obscenities removed.)

This song is just one of many on Mr. Cube's new album, *Death Certificate.*

Sexism in the Operating Room

Professor Frances Conley, the Stanford neurosurgeon, resigned from the faculty last year because of "sexist remarks" by her fellow doctors, such as their calling her "honey." She later changed her mind about leaving, and now it turns out that she has frequently told her male colleagues that she would cut off their "left testicle" if they angered her, and complained about their "testosterone level," among other similar comments. Aren't these "sexist" remarks? Yes, she says, "but you have to fight sexism with sexism." Oh.

Real Magic

Wonder why Magic Johnson, who got as much press as World War III, suddenly dropped down the memory hole? It's because the one-time condom king came to his senses and announced that he would teach children that the only safe sex is abstinence before marriage, and faithfulness within it.

Because AIDS education is all about destroying Christian values, not preventing AIDS, Johnson became a nonperson. ●

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